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Letters

What Mr. Kennedy Said

● My attention has been directed to an article entitled "Massachusetts: Liberal and Corrupt" (*NR*, Oct. 13). This article contains one serious error of fact.

It begins by referring to what the author describes as an informal gathering of Harvard University students and professors. In fact, this gathering was a formal meeting of my seminar on the legislative process offered in the Harvard Graduate School of Public Administration. Rep. John F. Kennedy, who represents the district in which Harvard University is situated, addressed my seminar in response to my invitation in the belief that he was speaking to a strictly academic audience and with the reasonable expectation that anything he might say in reply to questions by students would not be used against him in a subsequent political campaign. It is important for me, as a university professor, to protect my guest speakers against such use of their remarks in order that they may feel safe to engage in the freest possible exchange of ideas and opinions with my students.

It seems to me unfortunate that the author of this article should have reported, in the middle of a hot political campaign, a conversation designed solely for a special academic occasion. It is particularly unfortunate that he should have ventured within quotation marks words purporting to be the exact language used by the speaker. No official record was kept of the discussion of this meeting of my seminar, and the notes of other students who were present do not support the statement that these precise words were actually used by Representative Kennedy. A great injustice will be done to one of our ablest and most useful young Congressmen, if these quoted words are permitted to stand uncorrected in your columns, whence they may be taken out of context by irresponsible political opponents and used to his injury in the current campaign. Such a grave injustice to a guest speaker at my seminar could not have been intended by any student of mine.

Cambridge, Mass. ARTHUR HOLCOMBE

● Professor Holcombe is correct in referring to the Harvard meeting as a classroom meeting. I was led, inaccurately, to call the affair an informal gathering because there were a number of outsiders present, and because Mr. Kennedy spoke so informally both at the meeting and at a later social gathering with a number of Harvard professors and teaching fellows.

As for the accuracy of my article, I am personally sure that Mr. Kennedy said what I have attributed to him. One of the two quotations I used was in answer to a question which I raised myself. However, since the meeting took place two years ago, it is possible that the two quotations are very slight paraphrases which nevertheless present accurately the substance of his remarks. Others who were there agree that in substance this is what Kennedy said; they were equally surprised by his frankness, and his two Harvard appearances have been the subject of a great deal of discussion over the past two years.

I should add that I did not say that he was an "ideological" McCarthyist or isolationist, but rather that he has a "casual intuitive" and "personal" approach to these matters, like many other Democrats, and indeed seems to have undergone some change in the past two years, as my article tried to show.

It is my own hope that Mr. Kennedy, if he is elected to the Senate, will prove a distinguished member of that body. Yet there are contradictions in his views which are representative of an important segment of the Democratic Party, and which I felt were worth bringing out in the article. I might add that most of the information in the article came not from the Harvard meeting but from many individuals active in Massachusetts politics.

Cambridge, Mass. JOHN P. MALLAN

Rabbi Silvers' Synthetic Indignation

◉ The carefully contrived press meeting between Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver and Eisenhower and the Rabbi's indignant "blast" at Truman is no surprise at all to this reader.

Rabbi Silver of Cleveland has long been a Taft supporter in their native state of Ohio. It is natural for him to continue to support Taft in the person of the façade, Eisenhower. He could have done so in Cleveland on some equally thin pretext. GOP public relations, however, has discovered that there are more Jewish voters in crucial New York City.

Aside from this little errand for Bob Taft, what strategem, what other calculation could have presented itself to Rabbi Silver? The New York *Herald Tribune*, a Republican newspaper, discloses the choice tidbit extended to Jewish voters, "simultaneously the Eisenhower staff released a letter from the General to Dr. Silver favoring political economic aid to Israel—etc."

This *quid pro quo* having been handed to Silver as a sort of personal reward is calculated to elevate the Rabbi's personal position in the hierarchy. Its value as a promise, however, is extremely doubtful for many reasons. The most significant, the General's embrace of McCarthy, Jenner and Kem is hardly reassuring to anyone concerned with civil liberties let alone such an uneasy minority as the Jews.

This is what Truman meant in his attack on the General. The fears raised by Eisenhower's association with these demagogues remain valid fears despite Rabbi Silver's synthetic indignation.

Lenox, Mass. NATHAN GEORGE HORWITT

Ike's Part in Korea

General Eisenhower's speech of October 24, on ending the Korean War, is the high point in his campaign for cynicism, dishonesty and demagoguery. He blames the Administration for withdrawal from Korea, but neglects to add that he, as Chief of Staff of the Army and a member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, recommended the withdrawal officially in Sept., 1947.

Initially, the recommendation was opposed by the State Department, but it was finally approved, as a result of military urging, by the National Security Council and the President in April, 1948. Withdrawal was commenced in September, 1948, and completed June 29, 1949.

Eisenhower left the Joint Chiefs of Staff in February, 1948, but according to Louis Johnson, then Secretary of Defense, con-

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Bandwagon

The Hoover Prosperity

"Many persons left their jobs for the more profitable one of selling apples."—*From the third volume of Herbert Hoover's Memoirs, subtitled* "The Great Depression."

Too Fat With the Democrats

A press service reports that a Denver woman told the election commission she wanted to switch from the Democratic Party to the Republican because she had got too fat under Democratic Administrations.—*From the Greenville (S.C.)* Piedmont.

Lesson in Democracy

"Referring to the delegates as "ladies of quality—above the common herd," Dr. [Norman Vincent] Peale told a state meeting of the Daughters of the American Revolution:

"Be proud of your inheritance, be proud of your blue eyes and fair skin—without snobbery."—*From the New York* World-Telegram and Sun.

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New Republic

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SUPPOSE Eisenhower becomes President and goes to Korea, what happens? Something quite dangerous.

In the climax of a national election, a five-star General, universally trusted for military prowess and backed by a conservative minority party, has lined his campaign to the effort to achieve "an early and honorable end" to the Korean struggle. He is the same candidate who said, "If there must be a war, let it be Asians against Asians. . . ."

Suppose Eisenhower is elected. With Korea made the center of the campaign every mother will expect him to make his fateful trip. The prestige of the Eisenhower administration will hang on it because it gave him political victory. But everybody knows in his mind if not in his heart that peace won't come out of Seoul. It will come—if at all—out of Moscow.

Ike's trip won't bring peace in Korea. Failure to get it would mean loss of prestige at his administration's very start. Ike would be tempted to do one of two things. He could intensify the war. Our UN allies are desperately sensitive over this, yet Ike would be propelled toward the MacArthur policy. Or, on the other hand, he might seek to buy a Munich, which is exactly what the crypto-isolationist old guard backing his candidacy want. Time and again they echo Senator Dirksen (R, Ill.), "We should win or get out."

This is the real inwardness of Ike's spectacular grandstand play. Many people suspected that this Republican breech in foreign policy would come and now it is here. Ike at Detroit promised to build psychological warfare "into a weapon capable of cracking the Communist front" and gave no slightest hint how this could be done. He promised to speed up use of South Korean troops; this is already being done—all latest fighting has been handled by brave ROKs. And he said he would go to Korea with the implied hope to every war-weary family that there is an easy way out of the global struggle. Yet we already know that the only "easy" way is that which Ike vaguely but repeatedly promises—reduced budgets, reduced overseas aid, less for defense, smaller taxes, and now the promise of a miracle in Korea. The soldier Ike may not see where he is going; the shrewd men around him see very clearly.

Weary reporters traveling with candidates cannot wait for a place to take a bath. Presidential campaigns are too long—not enough has been said about the need of a mental bath for the traveling troupe. Suddenly last week-end we found ourselves in a place we dearly love, 250 miles away from Ike who was telling a great Harlem audience that he would fight for civil rights while his supporter Governor Byrnes, in South Carolina, was urging Ike's election to help preserve segregation in state schools. Nearly all of us have some sanctuary where we can go if only for a minute and touch holy things and feel more clean and fragrant. For this writer such a place is the World War I chapel in Harvard Yard where names of classmates cover the travertine walls, and the sculptured image of a woman mourning a dead crusader tells its own story. Brown leaves fluttered down against the windows as we stood there, and from outside came the sound of the college band and the voices of youth making ready for the football game.

Only those who have known it can understand the feeling of cleansing off the travel stains in such a place. There were images to be set right—that of warm-hearted, well-intentioned Ike embracing the smirking Jenner, of the compromises and concessions to Taft, of the indorsement of swarthy McCarthy on the rear platform in Wisconsin, of the

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endless, incessant use of the moralistic word "crusade" through all this—a dozen times in a single rear-platform whistle-top. Well, well. The frolicsome sound of youth came from outside, the names of other long-gone youths lined the walls, and in the center the austere image of the other crusader told its own story. Yes, even for Monday's McCarthy speech we were ready; we went cleansed and in good heart.

Events haven't stopped in Europe because of the American election. The drive for a European army and integration have run into a crisis in France; American election promises to reduce defense costs and foreign aid have further slowed down European rearmament. The Iranian crisis is acute. At home there is a coal strike and, whoever wins, a couple more months of Truman. Yes, and the budget is unbalanced and taxes high, and the solution for either will not lie in the honeyed words of politicians but on the deeds of Moscow.

A "new Eisenhower" appeared in last week's cross-New England tour. Reporters rubbed their eyes. All over the South and West, Ike denounced federal intervention and bureaucracy; no promise was more forcibly made than to keep Washington's "long nose" out of business. But suddenly in New England (where there is unemployment) Ike began talking like a New Dealer. Now on the platform with him were GOP liberals Lodge and Saltonstall, not Jenners, Cains and Brickers. He promised "strong unions," "better unemployment insurance," "improved social security." He promised full employment, at high wages by federal action. At Manchester, N. H., he pledged to fight not merely economic collapse and deflation but "recession" too, declaring that at "the first signs" of it "this crusade" would "mobilize the entire forces of private industry, of local government, of state government and of national government. . . ."

It all sounded suddenly like remembered voices: Harry Hopkins and Leon Keyserling. As one reporter observed, "Western newspapers do not copy."

Boston, Mass. T.R.B.

CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 2)

tinued as "sort of an acting chairman without statutory authority at that time." Eisenhower, therefore, was the main instigator of withdrawal. Nevertheless he criticizes the Administration for following his advice and conveniently, for campaign purposes, keeps quiet about his part in it.

Not satisfied with evading his own share of responsibility, he bowdlerizes the record. He repeats Wedemeyer's warning in September, 1947, against withdrawal, but omits Wedemeyer's statement while he was Deputy Chief of Staff of the Army for Plans and Operations that he agreed later with the decision to withdraw. (MacArthur Hearings, page 1988).

Eisenhower, asked whether the "Korean Government is able to fill the vacuum caused by the withdrawal of the occupation forces," replied that the Administration answered "Definitely." It was not the Administration that gave this answer, it was Lt. Gen. Charles L. Bolte, testifying for the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

His plan to end the war by making a trip to Korea himself is pure demagoguery. Is he going to punch Nam Il in the nose, or what? It is to be hoped that President Truman will send him to Korea immediately after the election. If there is an acceptable way to end the war, we should get on with it without delay.

Washington, D. C. T.R.P.

Doctors for Eisenhower

● Miss Begeman's article, *"The Doctors Needle Their Patients,"* (*NR* Oct. 27), in behalf of Eisenhower and Nixon, leads me to think that the readers of the *NR* may be interested in some of the ways the American Medical Association is trying to induce doctors to do it. One example: The "National Professional Committee for Eisenhower and Nixon," has sent to doctors a postcard which can be given or sent to patients, which reads:

LOOK BEFORE YOU LEAP

If you want: Communism and Socialism, Corruption, Higher Prices, Higher Taxes,

VOTE Against Eisenhower

BUT

If you want: Constitutional Government, Honest Administration, Efficiency, Economy,

VOTE *FOR* EISENHOWER

Another example: A physicians' committee attached to "Citizens for Eisenhower-Nixon" has sent to doctors all over the country a letter urging doctors to . . . mingle the two following political steps with their daily professional services:

"1. *Order Ike Circulars and Buttons* for distribution in your waiting room . . .

"2. *Have your Nurse Give a Circular and a Button to Every Patient you Receive,* from now to Nov. 3. Use every opportunity to make your position known. *Your patients respect your opinions; . . .* state those opinions!"

Washington, D. C. MICHAEL M. DAVIS

Eisenhower and Grant

Henry Adams observed of Grant, "A great soldier may be a baby politician." In their classic, *Growth of the American Republic,* Professors Commager and Morrison confirm the judgment. They wrote:

"The problems which Grant faced were varied and complex, but he brought to their solution neither understanding nor competence. Of the new economic forces that were shaping the United States, he was completely unaware. . . . Although a leader of men, he was not a good judge of men, and the very simplicity which had carried him safely through the intrigues of the Civil War exposed him to the wiles of politicians whose loyalty to himself he mistook for devotion to the public weal. . . ."

Grant's political sense was as primitive as that of a Sioux Indian. He was curiously ignorant of the law and even of the Constitution, and he never came to understand properly the relations of the Executive to his Cabinet. . . . Of the nature of political forces he had no comprehension, and he failed entirely to grasp the real character of the pressure groups who lobbied so successfully for favorable legislation on tariffs, finance, public lands and even foreign affairs. He had, apparently, but one political principle—a profound faith in his friends; it was a faith often mistaken and often betrayed. . . ."

"Brilliance, subtlety; urbanity—these qualities were not expected of Grant, but it came as something of a shock that he lacked the qualities popularly attributed to him—a sense of order and of command, directness, resoluteness, consistency, and intellectual honesty. He was vacillating and undignified; his judgment was incalculable, his prejudices implacable. The magnanimous victor of Appomattox, revealed himself in office petty, vindictive, and shifty."

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New Republic

THE TRAGEDY OF EISENHOWER

WIN OR LOSE, Dwight Eisenhower today is one of the most tragic figures in American history.

Applauded by all the world as a professional soldier and military hero, he stepped five months ago into the alien field of politics and from that day has gone steadily down in the esteem of those who once admired him most.

Starting as one who would accept but not seek the office of President, he has sought it through all the demoralizing compromises that come from excessive desire to win.

Dependent on others for a swift briefing in civil affairs, he has steadily learned the wrong things from the wrong people.

Counted on to rescue the Republican Party from its discredited Old Guard, he has made himself the hapless prisoner of the faction he defeated.

Saying "I am not a politician," he has proved it by embracing political hacks and blatherskites.

Lifted to eminence by General Marshall, he has taken the hands and endorsed the candidacies of men who called Marshall a front for traitors and a living lie.

Saying that in working against Communism there must be no unfairness, he has called on the voters to reelect character assassins and deniers of civil rights.

First helping, as a soldier, to create and execute an enlightened world policy, he has kicked it into the alleys of partisan vituperation and isolationist discord.

Promising to make the country secure and solvent, he has talked of tax reductions impossible to attain without making it insecure or insolvent.

After proclaiming, in 1945, his belief that Russia was peaceable and friendly, he has denounced political decisions made then by civilians who shared his error.

After joining, as Army Chief of Staff, in the unanimous advice of the Joint Chiefs to remove American troops from Korea in 1947, he has blamed the State Department for an invasion which that withdrawal made possible.

After telling the country that he had no recipe for ending the Korean conflict, he has denounced the government for having none, and has made harrowing appeals to the parents and wives of American soldiers.

Famed as an organizer of international defenses, he has scoffed at his own handiwork, insulted the people of France, bid for the votes of Polish and Czech Americans by inciting their relatives to suicidal revolt, and sent a wave of fear through free Europe by reckless attacks on the moderation of American policy.

Promising to end corruption in the federal government, he has helped his colleague, Richard Nixon, to falsify the facts and deceive the voters about his $18,000 subsidy from real estate and oil millionaires.

Declaring himself deeply suspicious of compulsion by any side in labor disputes—"by union leaders, by employers, or by a government"— he has endorsed the Taft-Hartley Act, under which there is compulsion of the workers, for the employers, by the government.

Seeking votes by running on the *Democratic* farm plank, he is tied up with Banker-Farmer Allan Kline, chief opponent of the Democratic platform and his reputed choice for Secretary of Agriculture.

Praising and endorsing the *completed* TVA, he has called the *proposed* (and similar) Columbia River Authority a product of the "whole-hog mentality" of federal bureaucrats striving for monopolistic power.

Endorsing federal aid to education, which Democrats would finance from off-shore oil deposits, he has promised to sign a bill which would give that oil to three states, and thereby deliver it to oil companies whose Congressional campaign contributions constitute the greatest uninvestigated scandal of the past 10 years.

Ignoring the destruction of price and rent controls by Republican Congressmen, he has accused the Administration of a deliberate policy of price inflation.

Charging the federal government with pushing its "long nose further and further into the people's business," he has adopted the language of those who would despoil the public domain by destroying its timber, denuding its watersheds and grazing lands, obliterating its wildlife, grasping its resources and ruining its places of transcendent beauty.

That is the downhill side of Eisenhower's candidacy. On the upward slant there is an expedient call for expansion of social security, supplanting the General's famous remark, in derogation of that system, that the way to find security is to go into a penitentiary for life.

Beyond this, Eisenhower has the same friendly per-

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sonality as ever, but it shines dimly in a campaign marked by platitudinous generalities, avoidance of living issues and party records, substitution of emotion for reason, and nostalgic references to a Kansas boyhood which seems to be all that is left of "the real Eisenhower."

How has this amazing debacle come about? Nobody would charge the General with being the planner of all the subtle maneuvers against the public welfare that have come from him. Neither can it be said that he is the innocent victim of shrewd political schemers.

Part of the answer, but not all, lies in the organic structure of his campaign. It can be seen in the answer given San Francisco reporters who asked what the General was going to talk about in that city. "The speech is being written in New York, and Ike won't know until he gets his copy about four o'clock on Friday." And when one of Eisenhower's speech-writers was needled about the candidate's latest vacillation on tidelands oil, the ghost-writer blurted out: "But I didn't write that speech. It was written in Texas."

Five batteries of speech-writers have produced the public utterances which, teletyped to Eisenhower's train, have converted him from the Ike of yester-year into the composite personality that dismays the thinking people of America. Each one has done his part in filling those speeches with the doctrines and non-doctrines which have made a majority of the people distrust the Republican Party.

Ghost-writers are small fry. They could do little if Eisenhower were not surrounded by advisers who represent the same reactionary elements, the same resort to trickery in place of square and honest debate.

Finally, Eisenhower would not deliver the speeches furnished to him if there were any real gulf between him and the reactionaries who have helped to bring him down. When a candidate is handed a speech referring to the whole-hog mentality of men devoted to public power development, he does not deliver that speech unless (a) he agrees with it, or (b) he abandons his principles in order to win votes, or (c) he knows too little about politics and policies to be capable of avoiding the worst in both.

So too in the case of Eisenhower's embrace of McCarthy, Jenner and Cain and his kowtowing to Senator Taft. He may tell himself that he abandoned General Marshall only in appearance, or that politics is a dirty game and one must learn to play it. But does anybody believe that Marshall would have done the same to him? This was a situation in which a man needed to be ready to lose the Presidency rather than sacrifice his self-respect. Had Eisenhower acted on that principle, he would be nearer the Presidency than he is today, and thoughtful people would contemplate the possibility of his election with less foreboding.

The tragedy of it is that what Eisenhower has surrendered he never can regain. On the ABC radio program *Crossfire* a couple of weeks ago, one of Eisenhower's top supporters predicted that their candidate would veer away from Taft, McCarthy and Jenner and let the people hear "the real Eisenhower." The maneuver was accomplished. It was unconvincing.

The notion that a synthetic Eisenhower could suddenly be replaced by the real Eisenhower, like a shift from cold to hot water, could only emanate from public-relations experts. Has "the real Eisenhower" cancelled the Taft mortgage? Has he insisted that Nixon be honest about his finances? From him has come the cruel hoax of a promise to go personally to Korea to seek an end of the war. (Will Stalin meet him there?) Grievous though it is to say it, a man who does not realize what has been done to him, or what he has done to himself, does not contain the raw materials of a President.

Never in all our history have the people of the United States faced such a test as they do today. Owing to the failure of the American press to do its duty, owing to the wealth of one political party and poverty of the other, there is an absence of equalizing factors in a campaign made unequal at first by the military fame of the one nominee and the initial obscurity of the other.

There are virtually no newspapers to tell the people that this campaign is between a machine and a man—between a spurious Goliath and a genuine David—none to tell them that Adlai Stevenson is such a blend of courage, honesty and political genius as the country has not known in generations. Voters must find that out for themselves, over the deafening din of the opposing claque.

Overhanging all this is the unprecedented danger that lies in error—danger to the nation's future, to the peace of the world, to the welfare and safety of every American family. Inevitably one thinks of our last military President, General Grant. The Eisenhower pattern is all too similar—honesty, good intentions, inexperience, a farm boy's outlook perpetuated through Army isolation, and a dense surrounding circle of powerful men who know what they are after. But the world is not the same, the country is not the same, the consequences of failure will not be the same. Disaster, stark and limitless, can be the result of a wrong choice on November 4.

IRVING BRANT

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"BETWEEN THE DEVIL AND THE EDC"

"THE US is more interested in the election at the moment. That may change, but . . . it will take six months to put things back to where they were three months ago." So spoke a German official concerning the unity built in the West during the past six years.

Two external pressures were the incentive for that effort: American pressure to continue and increase the effort, and the pressure of danger from the East. Both have now been relaxed—one through cunning, the other through carelessness.

The change in Soviet tactics from those of the rhinoceros to those of the termite evidence the strength of the structure reared in the West. As that structure was our best defense against the battering of the rhinoceros, so the quality of that structure is our only defense against the nibbling of the termite. But that quality has been weakened by a crisis in the heartland of Europe. The potential reality of the European Defense Community, and of the United States of Europe, has come to depend upon resolution of the Franco-German dispute over the Saar.

The Bonn Agreement, guaranteeing Germany's sovereignty and effective participation in the EDC, has not yet been ratified by the French Parliament, nor has the EDC Treaty itself. Ratification, says the French opposition, must await, and will depend upon, resolution of the dispute.

Since the war, the Saar has been linked to France both economically and politically. If the Saar were German-controlled, France's steel production would approximate 39 percent of West Germany's, her coal production 50 percent. Coupled to ancient and justified fears of a strong Germany, these figures indicate the latent power of the Saar issue in the hands of political opportunists.

Germany, on the other hand, suffers from triple dismemberment. Still, her production surpasses that of France and she will be acutely dependent upon the mass market created by the Steel-Coal Community. Like the old Reich, West Germany must export. Her traditional markets in the East are now forbidden her. Her food-producing areas are shut off by the Iron Curtain. A unified Europe is as essential to Germany as to France. France's dependence upon the Saar, however, is far more acute.

Schuman has a plan to Europeanize the Saar, possibly as the capital of the Steel-Coal Authority. Adenauer claims the proposition is too vague, says it would leave the Saar under total French economic control. He asks that German economic interests there be protected, that the Saar's foreign relations be handled through the Council of Ministers of the Steel-Coal Community, and, above all, that German-oriented political parties be given recognition under law and be permitted to campaign. He proposes these steps as part of a five-year plan to permit "true Europeanization" of the Saar.

French neutralists, however, demand a final solution now. Their immediate target is Robert Schuman, for if he were forced to resign, Premier Antoine Pinay's coalition government would disintegrate. Nationalist-minded members of the Radical and Radical Socialist groups, and of Pinay's own Independent Republicans, are continually attacking Schuman for too close co-operation with the US and with Germany. Even more dangerous is de Gaulle. He seems ready to form a coalition with the Communists to "reorientate French Foreign Policy" toward neutralism.

Many Frenchmen feel any concession to Germany would be a sacrifice of hard-won guarantees against a renewed German threat. Exploitation of this fear has seriously limited Schuman's freedom of negotiation.

The political machinations of Communists and neutralists in France have bred their counterpart in Germany. The Free Democratic Party has called for immediate political unification of the Saar and Germany. The Socialists and other opposition groups realize that this issue, with its appeal to German nationalism, is a potent element in their efforts to cut the government's majority on ratification of the EDC Treaty and the Bonn Agreement, and to defeat the government in next year's election. Adenauer's freedom of negotiation has been seriously limited.

The extreme danger, of course, is that politicians in the Saar, in Germany, and in France will continue to inflate the dispute until it becomes a great emotional issue similar to the issue of Trieste, and so become as serious a block to Western unity as Trieste has been to the Mediterranean defense system.

As yet there is no strong irredentism in the Saar. Yet Saarlanders are bound to Germany by ties of language, culture and tradition. Under the "approved" Christian Democratic Government, no pro-German party is permitted to campaign or even to exist. The natural political tendency of the Saarlanders has no official outlet.

If Schuman and Adenauer are allowed to examine the alternative courses in a climate of deliberative reason, a way can be found to secure both France's economic and Germany's political interests while respecting the overriding consideration of Western Unity. The structure of that unity does not force any people to abandon its cultural heritage or to ignore its real economic and political interests; it requires only that loyalties be broadened.

The forces which discourage any broadening of loyalty in Europe are many and ancient. Mutual fear and distrust, a seeming irreconcilability of interest, are woven into European history. To overcome these internal forces, stronger external forces are required. Realizing this, Moscow has halted its contribution of fear in order to exploit and strengthen the forces of division. We have relaxed our pressure. We must renew it, intensify it and orient it in the light of Moscow's new tactics. We must re-emphasize, more strongly than ever, the fundamental benefits accruing from tight economic, political, and military unity if the task is to be taken up where it was set down three months ago. TOM FITZSIMMONS

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WILL RENT DECONTROL BOOMERANG?

by Harry Conn

IF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY should, once again, lose the Presidential election, the blind fidelity to the real-estate interests by its members in Congress, its leaders in the communities and, indeed, its very platform may well be written as a major cause.

Last Spring top Republicans pushed a drive to emasculate rent controls. Their action was timed so that many key political areas would be decontrolled on the eve of the Presidential election by forcing through an amendment to the Defense Production Act which provided that communities desiring extension of federal controls must specifically request such from the Office of Rent Stabilization no later than September 30. As a result, on the first of October, one month before the election, some eight to 10 million people in the nation, in some 2.5 million housing units, were deprived of rent protection.

The removal of the ceilings in such major cities as Detroit, Nashville, Seattle, the Cleveland suburbs, Toledo, Atlanta, Kansas City, Des Moines and Charleston, W. Va., has resulted in precipitous rent increases, reaching as high as 200 percent in some areas. The usual increase has ranged from 15 to 89 percent.

A survey of conservative newspapers over the nation tells the story. A banner headline in the Charleston, W. Va., *Gazette*, on Oct. 2 read: "Rents Skyrocket as Curbs Die Here." The Detroit *News* on Sept. 19 headlined: "Rents Raised Up to 140 Percent." The Cleveland *News* declared: "Tenants Report Rent Increases Up to 125 Percent." (Sept. 30).

On Oct. 6 the same paper reported the story of the hard-pressed suburb of Lakewood: "Rent increases averaging 67 percent will be reported to Lakewood council tonight by Mayor Amos I. Kauffman, who will recommend appointment of a 'fair rent board' to arbitrate disputes. Complaints of major rent increases phoned to the Mayor's office since controls were lifted October 1 ranged from 25 percent to 134 percent."

But some insatiable real-estate operators still grieved because so many communities maintained control after the cut-off date. They had felt that with all their power in the communities and the obstacles to continuation written in the law local option would speedily wipe out rent controls. As of today, however, some 7.5 million rental dwelling units are still under rent controls, 5.5 million of them under federal controls and two million under state controls, the latter largely in New York State. Approximately one million of those units under federal controls are in critical defense-housing areas.

At the height of World War II some 16 million units were under controls. That number, to the chagrin of the real-estate lobby, which fought almost all forms of controls, has only been cut in half.

The real-estate men had every reason to expect greater results. For one thing, they are usually united in powerful community organizations in contrast to the normally disunited and inarticulate tenants. Local Chambers of Commerce usually act as the spokesmen for decontrol, closely supported by such allied groups as the Apartment Owners Association, the National Association of Real Estate Boards, the Home Builders and other business groups. Trade unions are often the only organized opposition. In addition, most city councils are run by businessmen, and any housing committees appointed by local governing bodies are likely to be guided by aggressive members of the real-estate lobby.

These committees work in several ways to defeat rent controls. They may offer studies, usually compiled by the real-estate organizations, purporting to show a fantastic number of vacancies thus making ceilings unnecessary. Or, they may encourage a campaign of silence to let the deadline slip by without action.

The role of the press in support of the real-estate lobby cannot be overestimated. Some of the papers which reported rent hikes in October shared the responsibility for them through their utter failure to provide enlightened community leadership in September. In Akron, Ohio, for example, the fate of controls was not decided until October 21. Yet the Akron *Beacon-Journal* buried the story of the critical fight in the city council the day before on page 38, and even then, failed to report one word of a key speech by Raymond W. Karst, general counsel of the Economic Stabilization Agency, in support of continuing controls.

Newspapers free of special interests can make a difference as illustrated in Allentown, Pa. In that city the AFL Typographical Union publishes one of its Unitypo chain of newspapers, the Allentown *Daily News-Digest*. This autumn the *DND* served as a focal point for rallying various local groups to press the City Council for a continuation of rent controls. The local real-estate board appeared before one of the Council's sessions early in September and asked that ceiling rents be abolished

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because there were "700" vacancies in the city. The DND, questioning this, ran an editorial offering to print the list of vacancies as free advertising and a public service. The real-estate people failed to produce the list for some time. But when they finally did, it was printed by all local newspapers.

The DND promptly sent reporters and photographers out to survey the "vacancies." They found "vacant rental dwellings" listed for vacant lots, for holes in the ground where buildings had been demolished for safety reasons or to make room for parking lots. Some of the listings were new homes in the $28,000 to $30,000 class. Finally, local unions organized a ward-by-ward survey and reported that for every 12 vacancies listed only one actually existed.

The *News-Digest* then charged that the list was a fabrication and produced photographs to prove it. The real-estate people replied that "changes must have occurred" in the period between the two surveys.

The labor union survey was submitted to the City Council which failed to meet until the final day for considering continuation of ceilings on rents. Finally, on September 29 the council went into executive session, excluding the press and public. They drew up a statement, parroting the stand of the real-estate lobby, and unanimously voted against extension of controls, just as the lobby had planned. The next day, however, the office of Defense Mobilization, fully informed on the local situation, declared Allentown a critical defense-housing area, thus taking the matter from the hands of the City Council and the real-estate lobby and retaining controls. The *Daily News-Digest* will be alert against announced future efforts to kill controls.

The Allentown case is an example of what too many real-estate boards over the nation mean when they claim that rent ceilings are unnecessary because an adequate number of vacant rental dwellings are available. In their determination to sweep away controls there are instances where they even fail to follow their own standard for determining just when a shortage in vacancies is reached. The National Association of Real Estate Boards publishes a textbook by James C. Downs Jr., entitled: *Principles of Real Estate Management* which says that ". . . the point of shortage exists when . . . residential occupancy is 98.5 percent." Yet Akron, among other localities, voted to decontrol rents when its point of shortage was less than one percent

At the time that this point of shortage is reached, the NAREB believes that rents should be increased and, apparently, sees no reason to be lenient with the tenants. "Residential rents may be raised," Mr. Downs declared in his textbook, "at times when residential occupancy is at point of shortage to from 35 to 50 percent of the family's income." This seems a far cry from the accepted budget standard of a limit of 25 percent of one's income for rent.

The power of well-organized real-estate lobbies in local communities only partially explains why so many local governing bodies have acceded to pressure to remove rent ceilings. Many City Council members were honestly swayed by vague statements from landlords that if controls perished there would be more vacancies and rent increases, therefore, would be slight. In some cases these promises were scrupulously followed. In other instances they were brazenly broken.

The Detroit *Free Press* reports that the gouging of tenants resulting from removal of rent ceilings in the automobile capital really shocked the Detroit City Council. At the first Council meeting after controls perished and rents were raised up to 140 percent members actually threatened to raise taxes on landlords who had raised rents, but after a riotous discussion nothing happened. When Council President Louis C. Miriani suggested that five Council members be made a complaint committee, most of the members left the meeting. But Miriani told the remaining members that it was a little late to moan:

"Let's quit kidding. You've been squawking for freedom of property rights. Now you have 'em. Let's either have controls or don't have them."

How much the rent situation will actually affect the outcome of the 1952 election is difficult to predict. In 1948, just prior to that Presidential election, rents were raised, but not as much as this year. The University of Michigan has just completed a survey on the role of rent control in that election.

"More significant than any party differences in attitude toward rent control is the fact that almost three-quarters of the people favored it, and only one person in eight was actually opposed to it. On this issue, therefore, many voters crossed party lines."

This year voters may recall, as the Charleston, W. Va., *Labor-Daily* for one has reminded, that of the 226 members of the House of Representatives who voted for the September 30 deadline on local option for extending rent control, 168 were Republicans while 58 were Democrats. Of the 169 House members who voted against the provisions and for stronger controls, 142 were Democrats and only 26 were GOP. The *Labor Daily* concluded:

"In other words, if your rent goes up now, charge it to the GOP 6½ to 1, and to the Democrats 1 to 2½."

The election returns will tell among other things how many apply this formula.

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ANOTHER NIXON "ANGEL"?

by Mark Blackburn

DRAMATIC television hero Richard M. Nixon is apparently guilty of (a) violation of the California law by making an incomplete, inaccurate and self-serving report of his primary-election campaign expenses in 1950, or (b) a remarkable lack of understanding of the meaning of the word "diligence."

This conclusion became obvious last week when Attorney-General Edmund G. (Pat) Brown of California ruled that candidates in primary elections must include in their campaign-expense reports money received and expended by committees working in their behalf. Honest Dick didn't do so. His primary report showed receipts of $1,490 and expenditures of $1,470. Nowhere did he mention the $5,000 loan made in May, 1950, by Sen. Owen Brewster and transmitted to Nixon's campaign committee in a check signed by Henry Grunewald, Washington mystery man involved in tax-scandal investigations. And, of course, he failed completely to mention any other money received or expended by his committee on a campaign that political veterans estimate cost at least $50,000.

Now comes the big question: Did the honorable Senator from California know that his committee was spending money, or didn't he? As far as the Grunewald-Brewster matter is concerned, Nixon says he was both ignorant and innocent. "The first knowledge I had of this contribution was after my election as United States Senator. I made the required federal and state reports of all contributions from the National Committee which had come to my attention at the time of making the report."

But Senator Brewster, testifying before the House Ways and Means Committee last March 20 when the $5,000 loan first became public knowledge, said:

The circumstances were that I was chairman of the Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee, and two of the candidates [Young of North Dakota and Nixon of California] in that they were more concerned with the primaries than they were with their elections. They besieged me, as it was customary for us to provide $5,000 for candidates, to see if they couldn't get some assistance in advance of their being actually nominated. . . . I went to my bank. I borrowed $10,000 . . . took the $10,000 and I gave $5,000 to each of these candidates . . . *Did not want to do it directly . . . I spoke* to Grunewald. . . . He made out two checks for $5,000 each to these two individuals or to their campaign committees.

Grunewald, indicted last week for contempt of Congress, especially petitioned that the grand jury cease to question him about his political connections with Nixon, Brewster and Young.

The Grunewald loan is not included in the itemized statement in which Nixon declared under oath that he had listed "all monies paid, loaned, contributed or otherwise furnished to me, or for my use directly or indirectly, in aid of my nomination, and the names of all persons who paid, loaned, contributed or otherwise furnished such monies."

His contention is that he didn't know, but in the same affidavit he swore, "I have used all reasonable diligence in the preparation of this statement, and it is true and is as full and explicit as I am able to make it."

So that's where the question of diligence comes up. It seems reasonable to most reasonable people that the exercise of reasonable diligence would have enabled Candidate Nixon to determine that his committee was spending something. After all, he must have seen himself on the billboards. He must have seen copies of the misleading literature entitled *As One Democrat to Another* in which he was passed off on unsuspecting Democrats as one of them. He must have known that billboards cost money and that thousands of pieces of literature cannot be mailed free. He must also have known that if he hadn't paid for them, somebody else had. It is even reasonable that he might assume his committee might possibly have been the "angel" providing this expensive campaign support. Yet he swore that he exercised "all reasonable diligence," but failed to find that anyone was spending money beyond the $1,470 he reported. (Note: Nixon's opponents, Helen Gahagan Douglas and Manchester Boddy reported expenditures of $30,169 and $70,579 respectively, as compared to Nixon's $1,470.)

So Nixon is guilty of either violating the law, or of a lack of diligence most strange in a man who thinks he should be our Vice-President.

Maybe formal charges will be pressed. The violation is only a misdemeanor, not a felony. But, if convicted, Nixon would run afoul of the California law which says a candidate so convicted "is disqualified from holding the office for which he was a candidate at the time of violating the provisions aforesaid."

Or maybe he can prove that his lack of diligence did indeed prevent him from knowing that election campaigns do cost money—big money.

Mark Blackburn is a pseudonym for a well-known California political reporter.

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CORRUPTION IN GOVERNMENT—AND COMPETENCE

by Francis Biddle

CORRUPTION in government has proved to be a very live issue in the minds of the American people. There has been much talk of what should be done, but not much fundamental thinking. A few wise reforms have been suggested, but there has been little attempt to analyze a condition which is recurrent in American public life, or to probe the circumstances that make possible, perhaps inevitable, the big and little bribes, or to estimate the economic, social and political pressures that invite dishonesty in high places.

The public is more shocked than usual. They are certainly angry and indignant. Their indignation must be often mixed with a sense of their own guilt and indifference. For the dishonesty has touched us all, touched the American system of which we are so proud: the basketball scandals, cheating at West Point, the deep freezes and the mink coats, the frauds in the Bureau of Internal Revenue. "The public now knows," reported the Kefauver Committee, "that the tentacles of organized crime reach into every community throughout the country."

These things are not isolated phenomena which can be neatly exorcised by a new set of administrative rearrangements, or banished into the omniverous past by exhortations eagerly welcomed because they are so soon forgotten. They touch us all. And because they touch us all, no group can with intellectual honesty shift responsibility for their existence to the shoulders of some other, some rival group.

The public is angry because today they pay annually some $60 billion in taxes, most of them not concealed taxes, but taxes that are reported and paid directly. Every man and woman today knows the huge slice that taxes take out of the family budget. Sure, we are in the midst of the greatest prosperity the world has ever seen—*but* the taxes are insatiable, and prices mount and mount. Where do you come out? And what about those dirty grafters who bribe the tax collectors and get off scot-free, or just about, while the rest of us pay through the nose? . . . Thus runs the argument.

The public is angry, but the public has no clear idea of specifically what should be done—except to get the rascals out. And to let in a new set of rascals?

The American mind is not long on history, even on the splendid—or shameful—pages of its own story. We tend to think that we are less honest than our ancestors, forgetting that public dishonesty has always existed. Jonathan Dayton, Speaker of the House from 1798 to 1800, was forced out of office for embezzling about $15,000 from money due the members for their pay and travel allowance. Who of us now remembers the Yazoo land frauds, which took place a few years after the Constitution was adopted? Speculators had obtained huge tracts of land along the Yazoo River in Georgia by corrupting the state legislature. The grants were repealed by a subsequent legislature, and the speculators turned to Congress for relief, attempting to bribe the state legislature, the Postmaster-General personally lobbying the bill on the floor of the House.

More like the present situation, and more recent, was the notorious Whiskey Ring, that flourished under General Grant, formed for the purpose of defrauding the government of revenues from taxes on liquor. Indictments were filed against 250 individuals who were responsible for the losses to the government, which ran into millions, including Gen. Orville E. Babcock, President Grant's private secretary. "Let no guilty man escape," the President said. Many of the defendants were convicted or pleaded guilty. The most prominent were pardoned six months after their conviction. Shortly after the Whiskey Ring scandal Secretary of War Gen. William W. Belknap was impeached for collecting large sums of money from federal office-holders. He resigned, and largely for that reason the requisite vote of two-thirds for conviction, was not obtained in the Senate.

There were the scandals under President Harding, the Veterans Administration, Teapot Dome, Secretary Albert B. Fall bribed for $100,000 to give away public property, all of these things beginning soon after the President had been elected in 1920. At that time the Republicans had been out of office for eight years, a fact to be remembered before we nod with grave approval to the commonplace remark, currently heard at the dinner table or along the corridors, that when any party has been in power too long the boys grow careless and corrupt. Doubtless true. But, one is tempted to add, or when they have been long out of office, and have grown lean and hungry, a little desperate for the "trough." . . . "There is no kind of dishonesty," Benjamin Franklin once said, "into which otherwise good people more easily and frequently fall than that of de-

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frauding the government." Perhaps, indeed, it was not unnatural that a young and rebellious people, pioneering, eager, active, land-hungry, should have used any means to get what they wanted. This characteristic can be less easily exorcised or explained, however, in a country which we hope is mature, and would like to think of as responsible.

Laxity of public men in accepting favors also goes back to the early days. Senator Kefauver has recently pointed out that when Congress was concerned with renewing the Charter of the Bank of the United States many Congressmen had loans, largely unsecured, from the bank, including Webster and Clay, both of whom were counsel for the bank at the time. Webster had, a few years before, written to his friend, Nicholas Biddle, president of the bank, that since for years he had represented it "in and out of the halls of Congress," the time had come when consideration should be given as to whether his retainer should be "renewed and refreshed."

As Secretary of State, Webster did not hesitate to represent Danish, French and Spanish claimants for damage that was done by American shipping during the War of 1812.

No one knows to what extent corruption exists today in the federal government. Last year I publicly recommended to the President that he appoint two distinguished lawyers—a Republican and a Democrat—to make an objective investigation of the facts, and to cause indictments to be brought where they were warranted. And such an investigation could have gone much further than the present situation, and have, as I have previously suggested, analyzed the pressures surrounding public servants, which from the beginning of our history have resulted in these shocking public scandals, and made recommendations for preventing them. They do not, for instance, occur in England. Is their system better than ours, from this point of view? Does it result in obtaining more honest men in government? Is their Civil Service more calculated to induce men of a higher calibre to accept public service? Does it create a better *esprit de corps*, and a greater dignity and pride in the service?

Many proposals have been made to cope with the situation, chiefly of a prohibitory nature. Sen. A. S. Mike Monroney (D, Okla.), believing that legislation should be adopted to "double-insulate" the Bureau of Internal Revenue against political interference, suggests that its agents should be put under a strict merit system to remove them from the confirmation rights of the Senate, and that it should be made unlawful for anyone—"a member of the House or Senate, of a state political committee, or anyone in the government, or in private life"—to intervene in any tax case. That a Senator should be more interested in honest public service than in political patronage is a pleasurably refreshing shock. The Reconstruction Finance Corporation, he continues, should make public announcement of "any intervention by anyone" in any RFC loan. He believes that givers of bribes should be punished as severely as the recipients—both should receive mandatory jail sentences; and finally that any government employee should lose his retirement benefits if convicted of a crime involving the public trust.

Many other suggestions have been made, some wise, some impractical, few basic. It has been suggested—not an altogether new idea—that, in order to eliminate or at least to control the political expenses of candidates for elective offices, the government undertake to finance them. The exposure of all sources of income by government employees has been suggested, including, a few daring radicals have added, members of the Congress. But when the suggestion was taken seriously by Mr. Newbold Morris, and he was about to issue an immensely complicated questionnaire to employees in the Department of Justice—and a nice, logical theory was put into horrid and immediate practice—wails of anguish went up on all sides—and Mr. Morris went back to New York.

President Truman's solution was reorganizing the Bureau of Internal Revenue, where corruption had been proved to be widespread, by substituting 25 Commissioners for the present 65 Collectors, and blanketing them under Civil Service. Congress with much latent, and not a little outspoken, irritation went along. The desire for this ancient patronage—Senatorial confirmation—had to be sacrificed to the good of the country in an election year in which the issue of corruption was very much in the foreground. The President followed this up by bringing United States marshals, hitherto valuable political plums, under Civil Service.

These measures of course were steps in the right direction. But the easy formula of Civil Service requirements, without a further examination of what they are and the kind of men they are calculated to attract into government service, is not a complete answer to the problem. And what is that problem?

It all comes back, in my view, to one basic essential—the recruitment of competent and honest men into the government service.

For competence and honesty in the public service are apt, I believe, to be found together. A man of ability

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who joins the government does so out of larger considerations than those of getting an easy living. He is influenced to his choice by the satisfactions of public service, which enlarge the horizon and stimulate the vitality of so many men today. The able man usually could have chosen a more lucrative career in private activity. But he is often more tempted to exert his capacities in a field from which have been excluded many of the small but cumulatively pressing disturbances of the competitive struggle. And all men are not competitively inclined, if making more money is the sole test of the competitive urge. Public service equally may stimulate the vital energy, and offer a more enduring satisfaction than service to a private corporate giant.

Men of limited background and training are less apt to see the degradation involved in the smaller temptations which lead to the larger moral failures. I doubt whether the petty seduction of deep freezes and mink coats appeared to the "boys" as more than the accepted padding of positions which they had obtained usually by hard work on a political level. Why, if it was legal to accept these pleasant amenities, was there anything improper about it? When you get a job surely you were entitled to what goes with it. . . . Men graduating from the flaccid school of public opinion which teaches the ideals and practice of the spoils system can hardly be expected to resist accepting little things for the little things they have to give. The moral tone is always low if public service is conceived as anything but the dedication of self to the common cause. Lawrence Lowell, lecturing on government at Harvard some 40 years ago, suggested that the test of our democracy lay in its ability to use experts. "Whether popular government will endure or not," he wrote later, "depends upon its success in solving its problems, and among these none is more insistent than the question of its capacity both to use and to control experts."

Decisions within the government bureaucracy, such as settling for cash or prosecuting a tax case for crime, supporting a particular piece of legislation, granting a license or approving a contract, often involve a close balance of judgment. It is so easy to steer a decision one way or the other, and either direction may be supported by logical or moral grounds. After all there are often two sides to a case, although the public is apt to think of such decisions as clear choices between black and white, right and wrong, the public interest against private advantage. But the issues are not usually presented in such a clear-cut manner. What is the public interest is often a debatable question. Should, for instance, a tax case be settled for a substantial amount, and prosecution dropped, where it is very doubtful whether a jury will find for the government on a weak set of facts? Should a contract be granted to the most efficient bidder in the field, an industrial giant, even though this will to some extent increase its monopolistic position, under a statute which favors but does not insist on an anti-monopoly policy, favorable, wherever possible, to small business?

The final decision is largely made as a result of the recommendations of the men who have analyzed the facts. Necessarily, their superior, who will exercise the final judgment, must depend on his subordinates' views, buttressed by their detailed knowledge, particularly where close questions of judgment are involved. These decisions stem of course from the men in power, but not always, perhaps not usually, from the men at the top, the heads of the great bureaus and divisions, but from the lower echelons, the chiefs of sections whose word is never final but whose "slant" on the particular case is necessarily potent. It is they who sift and sort and weigh the facts, and lay the ground for the final decision.

It is important therefore that all down the line the work be done by men who are not only honest, but who are independent and courageous. The exercise of their courage and independence will of course depend on the quality of the leadership of their superior. No department can be efficient in the best sense without such leadership, which can obtain and inspire first-rate work all down the line. But, on the other hand, no head of a department can achieve over-all leadership without independent and able men under him. His chances for effective work can be cut away by the appointment of politic hacks, or routine subordinates. A great administrator, the late Harold Ickes for example, will pick first-rate men to serve under him, hold them responsible for the quality of their work, and, above all, leave them alone.

These men belong to the 10 percent that counts. The 90 percent are almost invariably honest—the clerks, the stenographers, the vast bulk of employees—not from any inherently superior virtue, but simply because in their decently sheltered and mildly mechanical lives matters of judgment do not often arise, and they are not exposed to the temptations and pressures which surround their superiors. It is the 10 percent that counts. It is to them that we must address our thinking.

(This is the first of two articles. The second will appear next week.)

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DEMOCRATIC PROSPERITY—FICTION OR FACT

by Seymour E. Harris

THE BARRAGE of exaggerations, distortions, and fantasy which constitute the economic arguments of this campaign make it essential that an economist come forward with hard facts that are common knowledge within his profession. Many of the propositions advanced are frighteningly irresponsible; indeed, they are downright dangerous. Let us focus, then, on the Taft-Eisenhower thesis—that the prosperity of this nation is a fiction except where it occurs because of war-spending—and examine its major elements in the light of impartial investigation. There are nine major topics:

1. *Growth of Country.* Taft: (Sept. 16) Growth was three percent from 1869 to 1929 and two-and-one-half percent from 1929 to 1949.

He does not give the relevant comparison 1869 to 1933 and 1933 to 1949, or 1933 to 1951. The reason is obvious. From 1929 to 1951 gain of disposable personal incomes in stable dollars was 43 percent; from 1933 to 1951, 93 percent.

Eisenhower (Oct. 3): "The blunt fact is that the only improvement achieved in these 20 Democratic years was during the five-year period of World War II."

Compared to 1933, left out by the General, jobs had risen by seven millions in 1939, unemployment had declined by three millions, income available per capita after taxes in stable dollars had risen 40 percent. Unemployment had decreased from 25 percent of the labor force in 1933 to 17 percent of a larger labor force in 1933 to 17 percent of a larger labor force in 1939; in jobs we were nearly back to 1929.

Our gains were registered in 1933-39 as well as 1941-45, and the percentage rise was greater from 1933 to 1939 than in 1941-45—I refer again to personal disposable income per capita in stable dollars. The General also does not tell us that the '41-'45 gains have been maintained until today, that for the first time in our history, war was followed by continued prosperity. Does the General know that since 1945 prices are up 47 percent and consumption expenditures 75 percent? And that we have added nine million jobs, or 45 million from 1936 to 1952, inclusive?

2. *Reduction of the Standard of Living.* Both the Senator and the General keep telling us our standard of living has declined in recent years. Since 1949 consumption expenditures are up 19 percent and prices 12 percent, and since 1950 both have risen equally. How many miracles can we expect? A vast investment and security program totaling an additional $56 billion since 1949 superimposed upon a virtually full employment economy—and yet the standard of living has been maintained.

3. *Inflation.* Time and again, Eisenhower has referred to the 52-cent and 54-cent dollar. Here he is on safe ground. But this is a half-truth. Under President Hoover, the dollar rose in value with disastrous results. In relation to 1929, the current dollar is a 64-cent dollar.

More important, the country now has 4.6 times as many dollars as in 1933. Each dollar is worth roughly one half as much. So total dollars buy two-and-one third as much ($4.6 \times 1/2 = 2\ 1/3$) as in 1933. Why? Because more goods are being produced. Who, by the way, would prefer the 133-cent dollar of 1933, with its unemployment and bread lines?

4. *Savings and Inflation.* Eisenhower (Sept. 24): "If yours was an average family in 1945, you had savings of cash and securities of $430. Today that savings is worth only $300."

Here again we have a half truth. Just to indicate how absurd the Eisenhower facts are, let me suggest the following:

Personal savings and net corporate savings apportioned over each family rose by $7,000 from 1933 to 1952. Compare this with the $430 of cash and security totals of General Eisenhower for all savings per family. Even the cash and security savings referred to by the General were about $4,500 per family. In the years 1945-1951 alone, savings per family (personal and corporate) rose by $3,000. Compare this to General Eisenhower's loss of $130.

5. *National Debt.* General Eisenhower has picked out a popular tune. Every unborn baby is mortgaged $1,800. The unborn baby in 1932 had a much smaller mortgage. But the Hoover baby then could look forward to a lifetime income of but $15,000; a "Stevenson" baby (born 1953) to about $100,000—a difference of $80,000.

6. *Inflation and Cost of Defense.* Eisenhower (Sept. 24): "So—to save this two billions [through inflationary monetary policy] the Treasury vetoed controls [monetary] thereby promoting a postwar inflation that has raised the cost of defense by some $70 billion."

Where does the General get $70 billion? The se-

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curity program is to cost $140 billion in the three years through June 30, 1953. Prices are up by only 12 percent; even if allowance is made for higher prices on some military items (the excess over 12 percent not really to be ascribed to inflation but to shortages), the increased cost could not be even $25 billion.

And what of the effects of inflation on income and tax yield? Without the almost 50 percent rise in prices since the war, the national income and taxes would have been much less. At the rate of interest and prices of the twenties, after the war the country would have had to pay about $70 billion more in interest on the national debt alone. (This allows for the higher purchasing power of the dollar in the 1920s.) Incidentally, our money income today is twice what it was when the debt was incurred. That means the debt burden has been cut by one-half by higher output and prices, a genuine burden cut of $130 billion.

7. *Taxes.* Here we meet some of the most absurd statements.

Eisenhower: "Income taxes on workers have trebled in the last few years."

I would like to find evidence for a rise of even 50 percent.

Eisenhower (in the South): "The citizen works for the government until May 19." (This means 38 percent of his income goes to the government.)

Actually, the best study we have is one recently done by Professor Musgrave, of the University of Michigan, and by R. Tucker, economist of General Motors (*National Tax Association Journal*). Their average figure is that taxes take 15.9, 18 and 19.8 percent of incomes of 0-$1,000, $1,000-$2,000 and $2,000-$3,000 incomes respectively.

Taft: (Sept. 6) Taxes—"Mr. Truman is taking 25 percent to which must be added about eight percent for state and local government, or a total burden of 33 percent."

The facts: As a percentage of gross national product, federal taxes equal 20.2 percent in fiscal 1952 and 21.3 percent in 1953 (estimated on the President's August budget statement). As a percentage of national income (with only taxes included which are part of national income), the 1952 figure is 19.4 percent. As Musgrave and Tucker show, for all taxes (local, state, federal) the correct figure is way below 33 1/3 percent.

More significant than the ratio of taxes to income is the proportion of all goods and services purchased by all governments, federal and state. The figure for 1952 is 23.7 percent. This measures the real drain of the government upon the economy.

8. *Welfare.* Taft: (Sept. 16) "In the past 50 years we have steadily improved our handling of welfare matters. . . but these improvements have been made by the communities themselves."

According to the National Industrial Conference Board, a trade association of big businessmen (*The Social Security Almanac*, pp. 12-13), public expenditures for social security and related purposes in 1932 were $207.6 million, with the federal government accounting for $4.4 million. At this time 13 millions were unemployed. All governments were contributing $16 per unemployed worker and family per year; and the Republican Administration about 30 cents per family per year. By 1951, total welfare, etc. expenditures (exclusive of education) had risen to $16.2 billion, with the federal government spending $9.85 billion. Do these figures suggest local assumption of responsibility and significant gains in 50 years, or 20 years?

9. *The Prosperity Issue and Government Spending.* The Republicans repeat that prosperity is caused by war spending and is artificial. The statement that all was achieved in 1941-45 is an example.

Eisenhower (Sept. 24): "In the process, it has collected and spent in seven years more taxes than all 35 previous administrations put together through 156 years of national existence."

I find total expenditures over 163 years at more than $800 billion. And $300 billion is but three-eights of $800 billion. The General does not tell us that in these seven years the nation accounted for one-third of the income produced over 163 years. Expenditures, given the crisis, are not really out of line with income.

On the prosperity issue, of course, it is true that government spending has contributed. Yet it is an exaggeration to say the prosperity is all war-created. The income in 1933-52 exceeded the 1932-33 average by $2,160 billion or about seven times the cost of World War II and nine times the rise of debt since 1933.

More important, can we maintain prosperity without government help? We all wish for this. But, on the basis of the experience of the last 25 years, we cannot be certain. Here we need help from both candidates. The General talks in platitudes about freedom accounting for our gains; he speaks hopefully of reduced taxes and new frontiers. We need more specific suggestions. We want to know, for example, what is going to take up the slack created by a reduction of $50 billion of spending by government and business? The Democratic position is private enterprise, if possible, but it will not stand by and do nothing if a deficiency remains.

I must conclude that the Taft-Eisenhower economic thesis is made up of half truths and exaggerations.

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THE DEMAGOGUE AND THE KREMLIN

THOUGHTFUL Europeans are more and more worried about the way the US election campaign has developed since the Nixon episode. The *Times* of London writes: "Political correspondents no longer feel competent to report the Eisenhower campaign; it is, they think, a job for the dramatic critic. . . ."

The *Figaro* of Paris says:

> By a paradoxical reversal, modern progress has revived in American political life some aspects of the primitive democracy founded on personal, direct and immediate contact between voter and candidate. The voter is no longer called upon to make his judgments on the basis of facts; he is made to judge by his feelings.

The *Monde* of Paris emphasizes what it considers the dangers of "direct democracy" in the form it is acquiring in the US where "the massive intervention of the radio and television" puts a premium on the skill of the candidate as an actor and a demagogue. About the "plebiscite" in the Nixon case, it writes:

> There must be the greatest reservations about the value of this gigantic referendum, which gave the people the impression of having decided as sovereign master, while in fact the *affaire* had already been judged by small but very influential committees. . . . This shows again that Eisenhower is dominated by the Taftist Old Guard. . . . But could the General drop his running-mate on the morrow of the triumphal success of Senator McCarthy, which showed that McCarthyism pays at the polls?

France-Soir of Paris, which has the largest circulation in France, calls McCarthyism the most dangerous single factor in US political life. And there have been few newspapers in the Western European countries which have failed to see its shadow creeping up on the previously untarnished personal prestige of General Eisenhower. Few responsible and informed Europeans would dream of suspecting the General of flirting with anything like Fascism. Yet memories of Adolf Hitler's Nuremburg Rallies and of Benito Mussolini's *adunate* are too fresh not to cause disquiet about the implications for the future in the Nixon "plebiscite" and, more important, in Eisenhower's emotional: "You're my boy, Dick." Since the one element which US policy will need during the next four years is intelligent maturity, it would be bad enough if Governor Stevenson failed to win after appealing to US voters as intelligent and mature men and women. It would be worse if General Eisenhower himself were won over, hence potentially guided by histrionic tear-jerking and by the trickery of a prefabricated "voice of the people," since America's voice must be the voice of a free, realistic people aligned against the emotional machinations of Moscow.

It is abundantly clear in Western Europe that the Communists are preparing a new look to go with their new line, and that both resemble the down-to-earth appeal that made Nixon's *apologia pro sua vita* so emotionally (but not mentally) compelling.

Rinascita, the monthly magazine which gives Italian Communist leaders their "line," warns against making appeals to the minds of men, and, even more especially, women. There are to be no more references to women as "female masses, strata, categories." They are to be referred to as mothers, wives and workers. Everything intellectual, or even thoughtful, is banned. Speakers are no longer to use words like "problem" and "issue." They are to speak of "home, family, bread, work."

In a broad sense, the crisis in the French Communist Party, marked by the disgrace of the old-front-line fighters André Marty and Charles Tillon, has a similar significance—a stronger shift from the appeal to reason toward the appeal to feeling. French Communists are anxious, as the London *Times* points out, "to sell their brand of peace in a wider market." The Manchester *Guardian* suggests that:

> When Maurice Thorez returns from the Holy Land both parties [in France and Italy] will set out in earnest to form "fronts" in defense of "peace" and "material interests."

The Marty-Tillon episode fits in with the pattern of a general retreat both from immediate direct action and from any reasonable examination of policy that might disturb the essential fuzz and fraud of the "peace fronts."

Richard Lowenthal, the extremely well-informed correspondent of the London *Observer* in Bonn, sees victory for the "long perspective" school in the Cominform over the "short perspective" school. The "short perspective" school, deriving from the militant views of the late Andrej Zhdanov, thought the Cold War couldn't last and prepared for actual war in the near future. In Czechoslovakia, Slansky, and in Rumania, Anna Pauker, were of this group. The "long perspective" school, headed by Stalin's heir-presumptive, Malenkov, thought there might be an interval of co-existence, and to gain such a breathing period favored maneuvers to divide the "imperialist" front, strengthen the desire for peace, and thus postpone war.

To the extent that developments in the US campaign give the impression that the US people are moving into the camp (or being led into it) of the demagogues and witch-hunters, the Communist new look has a chance of becoming more attractive to some non-Communists in Western Europe. For Communist propaganda has succeeded in creating a link between witch-hunting and war-mongering.

Hence, the tragedy of Eisenhower's embrace of Nixon and what he seems to represent is that it sullies his reputation as a resolute man of peace, and hurts the effectiveness of any peace policy he may follow.

The defeat of Stevenson would, by now, impress many of the best and most effective European democrats and republicans—staunch friends of the true US spirit—as a victory if not for putative Fascism, then at least for the "primitivism" which they most fear in any national or international policy at this juncture of history.

Rome. PERCY WINNER

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LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

LOVE AND THE PLAYWRIGHT

by Jacques Barzun

NOT A NOVEL in letter form, but a complete drama. And a truly classic one, whether one means by this the symmetry of the action or its working out as tradition has led us to expect. The story is the tragedy of an elderly genius: Shaw was fifty-six when he fell in love with Stella Campbell. It was the summer of 1912, he had just finished *Pygmalion*, and having shown in that play how ladies could be made out of flower girls, he tried in life to make a great woman out of an actress "with a thrush in her throat."

He had long admired her on the stage for her presence, motion, and voice, and the romance could have been a repetition of the affair with Ellen Terry— an exchange of wonderful letters about poetry, acting, and human character, the whole sprinkled with exuberant endearments expressive of intellectual worship. But by chance, when Shaw became enamored of the dark and beautiful Mrs. Patrick Campbell, she had just suffered violent injuries in a cab accident and was laid up for the better part of a year. He visited her, and though she was already involved with the man she later married, she encouraged Shaw's consciously extravagant addresses. The letters were supplements to frequent calls that in her invalid state she found congenial, and for about a year the written words bear witness to the Jupiter-like intensity of Shaw's passion. We are in a far different world from that of the Shaw-Terry attachment—and for two reasons: Shaw's love is unmistakably physical, and it is not reciprocated. Mrs. Campbell writes coy, silly letters, much too short to balance the prose jewels she is getting.

BERNARD SHAW AND MRS. PATRICK CAMPBELL: THEIR CORRESPONDENCE, edited by Alan Dent (Knopf; $5).

By August, 1913, she seems so bored and bewildered that she commits an incredibly cruel act, and Shaw's long disenchantment begins. Early the next year he has to coach her through the star part of *Pygmalion* and she is all the more persuaded that he is everything people say—egotistical, unfeeling, lacking in taste, redeemed only by his obvious talent. It is at great expense of spirit that he stays loyal to his vision of her, for the affair has made his wife miserably unhappy and nagging; he is conscious of his age and his genius, of Stella's beauty and insensitivity; she finally marries George—the other George—while Shaw continues to sustain his dream and her practical affairs.

The war, shattering the whole fabric of European life, unties this irrational knot. Stella's husband leaves her and she comes to America. Shaw is cured of his infatuation and fully reconciled with his wife—at which point Mrs. Patrick Campbell, fallen into straits, begins to idealize Shaw's love. It becomes the greatest thing that ever happened to her (as indeed is true), but by a wretched destiny, she has to remind him of this while begging for permission to print his letters for money. He is adamant, to protect not himself but Mrs. Shaw, on whose behalf his sense of guilt makes him act like a growling watchdog.

The very look of the letters makes the reversal dramatic—hers grow longer as his become short, emphatic notes of business. He is never indifferent to her practical needs, but only at times does he consent to discuss "their" past as she would like him to do. He sees it perfectly clearly and she fails to understand. "Now the enchantment is gone," he says, "and I can no longer tell myself love stories." Not that he had made it all up, any more than any other man in love. Seeing before his eyes a real woman gifted with grace and wit, he had every right to presume her capable of love and to try to be the object of it. Stella Campbell was plainly caught by that idea herself. Unfortunately she had a genius at her feet, and in her book of knowledge there was no recipe for dealing with geniuses. She could not conceive what he called the "Titanic slavery" by which he lived and had to live. All she could think of as a pet-name for him was Joey, the circus clown. By cruel reiteration after her marriage she rubs it in to Shaw that *her* George goes fishing and smokes a pipe and "looks after her splendidly"—in short she "adores" him, whereas at the height of Shaw's passion the best she could do was to be overwhelmed by his love eloquence and then half resent it: "You vagabond you—you blind man. You weaver of words, you—and purple-winged hider of cherubs—you poor thing unable to understand a mere woman. My friend all the same."

We must be grateful to Mrs. Campbell, at least for having set down these definitive words in the simplest form and punctuation of which they are capable. They express a state of mind and reveal a state of affairs which are so common in the lives of great men that they should long ago have been reduced to formula—this is it. She complains that he "lost her because he never found her." The fact is that she never "gets" him—in the sense of knowing what he is like or up to. The "mere woman" is not at fault any more than the extraordinary man who is so unsatisfactory—and yet so useful and in retrospect so glorifying. The world gives no guarantee that for every Abelard there will be an Heloise. Some might even shy at the price if there were.

Which poses the question often asked, whether Shaw's connection with Mrs. Patrick Campbell was what

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people call a "real" love affair. Mr. Alan Dent, the London dramatic critic who supplies out of his great knowledge of theatrical history the indispensable notes to these letters, refrains from all other comments. Shaw's biographers—excepting the egregious Frank Harris—leave us in the dark, and statements attributed by rumor to Mrs. Campbell are worthless. The question and the rumors alike assume that "real" love implies sexual fulfillment, and the suspicion is that Shaw's temperament precluded that form of "reality." He was so intelligent and so vegetarian that desire cannot have visited him very often—so runs the argument; the modern idea of love being as it were completely bed-ridden. This in turn is due to the long Victorian stretch when the opposite tradition was uniformly maintained on no better basis of fact. But we should perhaps remember that Shaw grew up in that tradition. He could therefore feel physical attraction without supposing it a duty to test it at the earliest opportunity. What he did consider a duty was to spare the feelings of the many persons concerned, and no one can say what decision this led him to.

In spite of the old critical cant, Shaw's plays certainly testify to a lively and direct awareness of sexual magnetism. Think of the *Liebeskampf* in the third act of *Widowers' Houses,* the bald dialogue between Boxer and Lesbia in *Getting Married,* the emotional climaxes in *Man and Superman* and *You Never Can Tell,* not to mention *Candida,* which so actualized the old triangle problem that we no longer know how much farther away from true sexuality the earlier treatments were. Shaw knew his world and his business. In these very letters he reminds Mrs. Campbell that a play must have a man in it for the women of the audience to idealize, and not merely a woman to brighten the eyes of men.

At any rate, no attentive reader of the letters can deny that the source and nature of Shaw's infatuation was "normal"—*i.e.* physical. The imagery, the dream-wishing, the excitement of paragraph after paragraph, bear the characteristic marks of loverlike utterance, only heightened by the literary power of a master-wordsman. Indeed, for a man of fifty-six Shaw has amazingly youthful impulses: he risks his neck speeding for miles on a motorcycle, he must see his beloved every day, if only for a few minutes, he writes her name thirty times and falls into Swiftian little language, he is blissfully happy when he has cause to be miserable, he writes poetry, *he brings her books!* Those are part of the reasons why one is heartbroken along with him at her curiously honest, cold coquettishness.

Fortunately he saw her most accurately with one eye, no doubt disquieting her thereby and causing some of her early distrust; so that his letters present the usual Shavian variety of moods. What energy of thought and strength of second wind (in fact, third or fourth) carry him through the description of complex situations, theatrical or psychological. He misses nothing and shows no mercy to the listener who, being lazy or incurious, would settle for a partial view. No wonder poor Stella was tired, though we who have been reared on Shaw can take it all in stride, enjoying the rehearsal instructions as much as the love chatter, and the lessons in finance as much as the sonnets or light verse.

What is more, there is first-rate comedy intertwined with the tragic plot, and the numerous letters that make one laugh aloud are the only performances of the kind fit to stand beside those of Bagehot. But the plot haunts us nonetheless, for it is a conflict ending in the weaker's moral and physical defeat. She had thwarted his love and (in *Pygmalion*) his will. A quarter of a century later the very web she had woven around him and her forced him to thwart her will and deny her false recollection of love by opposing the publishing of the letters, now her chief source of pride. His last words, the last in the book, are like a contrived curtain line recalling the occasion of their beginning: "I have given up producing; I am too old, too old, too old."

WITH INTELLECTUAL IRON

THE LAST SEPTEMBER, by Elizabeth Bowen (Knopf; $3.50).

THE LAST SEPTEMBER, reissued 23 years after its first publication, was Elizabeth Bowen's second novel, written when she was still in her twenties. It demonstrates that from the first she was an accomplished novelist, and accomplished then in the particular ways that we associate with her art now.

She was always stylish, clearly, with that fine gift for the penetrating phrase, the sentence that startles us into opening our eyes to the exact nature of her scene, the paragraph that is as composed as a lyric, the chapter that rolls out and returns upon itself like a fugue. For the larger unit, one might observe Chapter Seven of this novel, which is an almost perfect illustration of the *art* that seems to come from Miss Bowen with the ease of habitual speech, by which one means the composed flow of the narrative itself, and the large irony that controls that flow, as a sharper verbal irony controls the smaller units.

The smaller units, the phrases and the sentences, tell us, of course, whom Miss Bowen had read with respect, but what bright young woman would not have been reading Virginia Woolf with respect in 1927 and 1928, and what bright novelist today, young or old, would not still discover in E. M. Forster a kind of force of phrase and incident that is enviable? "Creaks ran through the wicker, discussing him, then all was quiet." In every way it is a sentence that one might locate in *Howard's End.*

> The dining room was dark red, with a smoky ceiling, and Gerald said afterwards he had felt like a disease in a liver. When the blancmange came in it lay down with a sob and Miss Thompson frowned at it.

Mrs. Dalloway, perhaps. But a sentence such as this:

> She thought: "Damn him!" with conscious injustice and drew on every resource, all that might once have been called the arts of her sex, to repel, to annoy and to bore him.

This is the pure Bowen quality, which, it appears to the present reviewer, moves far beyond the often invertebrate

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lyricism of Virginia Woolf, into a rhetoric that has intellectual iron, for the sentence, with its apparently amusing handling of anticlimax—to repel, to annoy, and to bore—is in fact handling climax, and thereby serves as an incisive analysis of both the *him* and the *her* in question: to bore him is the greatest crime in the mind of each.

The intellectual iron (the philosophical irony) shows most plainly, of course, in the whole conception with which Miss Bowen is involved in a given novel, with the whole moral implication and dramatic explication of the narrative. We have come to associate with her work the theme of the violation of the insidious invasions of experience into the heart that has not been trampled, but merely expects, the loss and the gain that are involved in the sometimes tragic, seldom tedious mutilation and transfiguration that self-knowledge entails. *The Last September* is interesting, among many other reasons, because it shows us an Elizabeth Bowen who is on the threshold of that theme; this is to say, she is concerned with a heroine who is still incapable of being violated, who knows that mutilation lurks all about her but is not yet able to feel it for herself as an actuality. So she lives through a month set in a scene of political violence (the Irish "troubles" of the 1920's), in a household where loyalties are so divided that they cannot even be defined, and in an immediate situation of love and death that does not touch her, that she only feels *must* touch her, should touch her. It is, perhaps, the most pathetic moment in the life of a girl, when all sensibilities are trembling, when all expectations are open, but when the capacity of the feelings to select their proper objects has not yet awakened. "Lois's tragedy was not that Gerald should die (what, indeed, was she to do with his life and hers?) but that he should die knowing she could not love him." So writes Miss Bowen in her handsome, retrospective introduction to this novel. And in the novel itself, in Lois's words: "When you have to think so much of what other people feel about you there seems no time to think what you feel about them"—a wonderfully acute statement of the dilemma of the sensitive late adolescent. Or this:

"I like to be in a pattern." She traced a pink frond with her finger. "I like to be related; to have to be what I am. Just to *be* is so intransitive, so lonely."

This illustration returns us to the inescapable art of Elizabeth Bowen, the significant style—the relation, in this example, of what is being said and of what is being done: the pattern of life, the figure in the carpet; the moral situation, the dramatic specification. And it is this art that compels us in *The Last September,* where the young novelist is handling a situation of proportions somewhat less ambitious than we have come to expect of her in the 1940's, the 1950's. A heroine not old enough to feel, among adults who will never be old enough to feel—for most novelists that would be a fatal invitation to triviality. Not here. "Large to themselves," Miss Bowen writes at one point, "to each other graduating from a little below life-size, to an eye from the mountain antlike—but smaller and less directed—or like beads tipped out." This sentence would adequately describe most novels on the present theme. It does not describe *The Last September,* even though it describes the people in it. The art makes them large in the whole human dilemma that we know; they tap relentlessly upon our heart with the demonstration that they offer of the truth that to live at all, the heart must be broken.

MARK SCHORER

ADVICE FROM A JACOBIN

HANDBOOK OF POLITICAL FALLACIES, by Jeremy Bentham (Johns Hopkins; $4.75).

THE REPUBLICATION after the lapse of a century and a quarter of a book now under the title of Bentham's *Handbook of Political Fallacies* has created a new stir of interest in the great humanitarian. This philosophic radical who flourished late in the 18th and early in the 19th centuries dedicated himself to the discovery and invention of devices for correcting social maladjustments. With a large staff of secretaries he accumulated an enormous quantity of social data and left as a heritage reams and reams of manuscript as yet largely unpublished. The *Handbook* consisted of generalizations dug out of the mass of Bentham's manuscripts by his disciples.

Bentham devoted his life to a buoyant and passionate crusade against special privilege. After the French Revolution broke out followed by the Napoleonic Wars, England emerged with the ruling classes in a state of hysteria exceeding anything we have ever experienced on this side of the Atlantic. Bentham, never called a Communist, must have been frequently smeared with the corresponding epithet of that day—Jacobin. The National Assembly had even voted him French citizenship.

Jeremy Bentham began his campaign for human welfare as innocent of the bare-knuckle nature of politics as a crusading five-star general nourished on the romantic conceptions of an American political campaign acquired in a high school civics class a generation ago. Bentham innocently assumed that man was not only a political animal but also even a rational one. All that would be required to persuade those in authority to make needed reforms, he assumed, would be to prove by reason that they were needed. He even had ready the magic formula—the infallible guide for the legislator—"the greatest good to the greatest numbers."

What if Jeremy Bentham could drop down in the midst of our Presidential campaign today equipped with the *Handbook*. There on page 17 begins the exposition of the fallacies of "authority." He would find stump speakers, apparently too busy exploiting Lincoln's fame to read what Lincoln said, appealing to his wisdom, of all places even at his tomb as they laud the very dogma of "states rights" that Lincoln's struggle to preserve national unity "made hideous", as Henry Adams expressed it.

Then there is the fallacy of the "Chinese argument—wisdom of ancestors."

Wisdom of ancestors being the most impressive of all arguments [says the *Handbook*] can be employed in defense of established abuses and imperfections, persons interested in this or that particular abuse are most forward in employing that.

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So the founding fathers today have words put in their mouths which they never dreamed of uttering and the ancient and outmoded saw, "that government is best that governs least" is trotted out again by those who would sanctify social stagnation.

> The fallacy of irrevocable laws and vows [according to the *Handbook*] represents the prodigious anxiety for the welfare of their posterity that accounts for the propensity of the sages to tie up the hands of this same posterity forevermore.

Thus this present generation which elected one man President four times in succession has just fastened in the Constitution an amendment denying any future generation an opportunity to do what we were free to do.

The fallacy of "laudatory personalities" stands logic on its head by implying that instead of judging a man by his deeds, the quality of the deeds or policies he stands for shall be determined automatically by the presumed unimpeachable character of the one who performs the deeds and advocates the policies. If a candidate of prestige and character opposes retention of tidal oil reserves by the federal government that settles the issue. There is the related fallacy of "vituperative personalities" which diverts attention

> from the measure to the man in such a way as to cause the latter's badness to be imputed to the measure he supports. He is on a footing of intimacy with this or that person who is a man of dangerous principles and designs or has been seen more or less frequently in his company.

(Beware of a candidate who has even been associated with Alger Hiss).

The "hobgoblin argument," or "no innovation" fallacy conjures up a monster. Public housing is "Communism" and the enemy of "free enterprise." "Innovation is uttered with a scream of horror, and the approach of the monster Anarchy denounced."

The fallacy of "false consolation" appears when a proposal to make some improvement is made. The counter move is to divert attention from the needed improvement by pointing out how much better the general condition is here than in other lands. Governor Warren's or President Truman's health insurance program is attacked with the irrelevant argument that U.S. leads the world in medical research.

The fallacy of "artful diversion" consists of holding up some measure other than the one proposed as superior in order of importance or proposing some change designed to nullify the proposal. In the words of the *Handbook of Political Fallacies*:

> Your language then will be: "Why that?" (meaning the measure already proposed). "Why not this?" (mentioning some other which it is your hope to render more acceptable). By this means you will create a diversion, and turn aside from the obnoxious measure the affections and attention of the audience.

Senator Bricker accomplished this when he proposed amending a federal housing bill by forbidding segregation of races in any such housing knowing this would promptly kill the measure.

"Vague generalities" is a device as well known today as when the *Handbook* was first published. Bentham would even find examples of his fallacy "Popular corruption:"

> The argument of this fallacy, [states the *Handbook*] may be expressed in the following terms: The source of corruption is in the minds of the people. So rank and extensively seated is that corruption, that no political reform can ever have any effect in removing it.

No candidate has presented the fallacy in that raw form today but we have heard how universal corruption is in human nature, in business no less than in government.

If Jeremy Bentham could have sat down before a television set and observed Senator Nixon's stunt in defense of his accepting the fund subsidizing him as a Senator the philosopher could have turned to page 188 of the *Handbook of Political Fallacies*:

> The device resorted to is uniformly the same, and consists in avoiding the question in debate by substituting general and ambiguous terms in place of clear and particular names.

It may have been the outstanding example of a political fallacy in a campaign replete with examples of such fallacies.

WILFRED E. BINKLEY

IN SLANDERS FIELD

MC CARTHY: THE MAN, THE SENATOR, THE "ISM", by Jack Anderson and Ronald W. May (Beacon Press; $3.75).

MOST REPORTERS who have covered the McCarthy story (the assignment, incidentally, is often referred to as "Liar's Run") end each day seething with rage and frustration; rage that such lies and vile practices can be perpetrated, frustration at the knowledge that within the space available to them they will be unable to give even a faint intimation of the fraud they have just witnessed.

Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy's technique of the big lie and what Richard Rovere has precisely named "the multiple untruth" has meant that to straighten out the record requires five times the space and ten times the research needed to make each accusation. It can't be done in a news story or a magazine piece. It takes a book.

Jack Anderson of Drew Pearson's staff and Ronald W. May, a Wisconsin newsman and former State employe, have written that book. The authors are reporters, not psychologists or historians; they have made no serious attempt to discover what dark compulsions make McCarthy tick, or to explain what aspects of the American scene or temperament lead to the acceptance by such large numbers of people of the nightmare McCarthy contrived—or to tell why a man vilely denounced by McCarthy could, on becoming a Presidential candidate, embrace him as a fellow moral crusader.

Instead, and to their credit, Anderson and May have done a reporter's job of making an exhaustive, point by point assembly of the facts relevant to most of McCarthy's major lies and to all of the major episodes in his meteoric descent to fame. The result is devastating, and the documentation three times larger than most people who fancy themselves experts on McCarthy believed existed.

Here is the painstaking truth on the McCarthy "enlistment as a buck private," the heroic "tail gunner," the "ten pounds of shrapnel" in the leg, the quickie divorces, the destruction of his court's records, the illegal and revolting

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campaign for Senator, the $10,000 from Lustron, the defense of the Malmedy assassins (where he was more truly and directly the cat's-paw of a Communist operative than any of the hundreds he accused of playing that role), the noble crusade against subversion, the Maryland campaign.

Here is McCarthy from the day he double-crossed the man who rescued him from a starving law practice to the time when his agents, circulating among a Wisconsin crowd gathered to see an old farm lady have a divine visitation, disclosed that the message she received was, "Fight Communism and clean the Reds out of the State Department."

There are doubtless some errors in the book, but they are minor and immaterial. McCarthy will, of course, seize on them to "prove" that it's all a pack of lies (remarkable how in any McCarthy story the putting of quotation marks around the word "prove" has come to be a conditioned reflex). In fact, however, the book provides for the first time a voluminous demonstration of the black, repetitive, parthenogenetic deceit that is the distinguishing and inseparable mark of the junior Senator from Wisconsin and all his works.

ALFRED FRIENDLY

THE FARBEN CASE

THE DEVIL'S CHEMISTS, by Josiah E. DuBois, Jr. and Edward Johnson (Beacon Press; $3.75).

This is a book full of dynamite, and it will be interesting to see whether it explodes.

After the Second World War, various plans were initiated to prevent another global conflict. Among them was the novel idea (novel, at least, in modern times) of holding the leaders of defeated Germany personally responsible for the crime of aggressive war—not only military and political leaders, but industrialists as well.

These industrialists included the directors and executives of the giant chemical combine, the Farben company. This vast organization produced more than 6,000 drugs, chemicals, and allied substances such as synthetic rubber and gasoline. It did business in more than fifty countries, through partly or wholly-owned subsidiaries or business contracts of every possible character; in the United States alone it was directly tied to about fifty important firms.

Mr. DuBois and Mr. Johnson feel that there is no doubt the top men of Farben were as guilty as hell. As the authors point out, these men condoned and participated in every crime of the Nazis. They acted all over the world as purchasing agents, spies and saboteurs for Hitler. Farben manufactured the raw materials for munitions and the prussic acid used in the gas chambers where a large part of the Nazis' more than six million victims were gassed. The firm actually built factories inside the concentration camps, and employed the inmates as workers.

The evidence, thus amassed by the prosecutors, is dreadfully familiar, but it is now presented in this volume with deadly effect. When the top men of the Farben company were brought into court they all swore they were innocent. Defying the records, they claimed they had not spied for Hitler all over the world, or bought or manufactured war materials for him, or conspired in the grisly torture and extermination of Jews, Poles and other victims. Although the crematorium at one concentration camp burned a thousand bodies a day and the stench extended for several miles in all directions, they insisted they never smelled a thing.

In proceedings that lasted half a year, these men were tried before a four-man court of American judges. At the end, most of the defendants were set free and the few others were given brief sentences that amounted to a tap on the wrist. Since they were credited with the time in prison while awaiting trial, all or nearly all of them are out of jail today and back in power under the Bonn government.

What is the reason for this amazing miscarriage of justice? Mr. DuBois, who was chief prosecutor of the case, suggests several reasons. He thinks there may have been some anti-Semitism among members of the court. Some of them may have been so impressed by the wealth and social position of most of the defendants that the thought of sending them to jail was repugnant. The official view of the court majority was that these defendants were such fools they did not know what was going on—even when they did it themselves.

The chief reason, of course, is that even as early as the summer of 1948 when this trial came to an end, the Cold War overrode every other consideration. We were already wooing the Germans to help us against the Russians, and the vast Farben empire seemed like a good ally.

This book reads like an exhaustively documented, breathlessly exciting murder mystery, and so it is. The victim: historic American principles of sympathy for innocent victims and determination to punish the transgressor, plus much of our prestige in the eyes of the free world.

BRUCE BLIVEN

MR. MELVILLE'S MARTYR

by Robert Evett

TO ITS OWN great credit, the National Broadcasting Company has begun a series of televised opera broadcasts of a most ambitious nature. The first production was of scenes from Benjamin Britten's opera *Billy Budd*. Whoever selected the scenes contrived to make a convincing cut version of the opera, preserving both the continuity and the intensity of the drama. The visual effectiveness of the piece was enhanced by a sombre, economical staging and a brilliant use of the camera reminiscent of the films of Carl Dryer, especially of *Day of Wrath*. The casting was a triumph. Theodor Uppmann, Andrew McKinley and Leon Lishner, who carried the heaviest roles, not only sang beautifully, but projected the drama very well. Even the minor characters and the chorus were well directed. Because of this, *Billy* was much more convincing theatre than most live performances of opera ever are. The orchestra, too, was superior to what we generally hear in the opera house, and the sound engineering was uncommonly fine. The production staff was so large that I don't know who deserves the body of

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the praise, but Peter Adler, the artistic and musical director, must have had a considerable influence on the total effect. As one who has little sympathy with television as a medium, I was overwhelmed at this demonstration of its potentialities.

The libretto was taken by E. M. Forster (in collaboration with Eric Crozier) from Melville's novel. It is unfortunate that Mr. Britten should have chosen to match his talent (which seems to have degenerated into the merest facility) with a product of Mr. Forster's wise old age. As a musical accomplishment, *Billy* is not much superior to Mr. Menotti's melodramas, with which it has much in common. Like Menotti, Britten shows a thread-bare melodic imagination. There is not a single good tune in *Billy Budd* from one end to the other.

But good for what? Stravinsky has pointed out that it is possible to write excellent music which is melodically poor, and has shown that Beethoven's melodies are the weakest parts of his structures. Menotti has given us tunes which, are Heaven knows, singable, however cloying they may be. One does not expect to leave an opera house whistling airs after the first performance of a new work.

The least that one can expect is, I think, a certain melodic profile that is memorable, at least for a little while. Without this minimum, music lacks line, and may very well lack continuity. Arias and other set pieces, attractive conventions of the opera, became outmoded about 1850 in Germany, and later elsewhere. Wagner and some of his successors realized that such conventions interfered with dramatic effectiveness, and got rid of them. What Wagner substituted frequently slowed down the action even more.

Singing always slows down dramatic action, and there is nothing that anybody can do about it. The rhythms and meters of sung music always tend to be slower than those of speech. If music enhances the meaning of words, and sometimes it doesn't, it is by exaggerating and pointing up inflection. This takes time. And word-for-word setting is never enough. A composer must approach his text phrase by phrase, sentence by sentence, or stanza by stanza. When he does not do this, he is likely to achieve the chaos Britten found here.

Mr. Forster's text is full of operatic conventions, but Britten's music is not. A few set pieces have been dragged in by the ears; they sound awkward and ugly. The composer has provided very little more than a prosodically accurate setting of the text, accompanied by suitable sound effects. As an orchestrator, Britten rivals Ravel; he is superb. But he is presumptuous to assume that this skill will sustain a work of major proportions.

In effect, *Billy Budd* is an endless recitation, unrelieved. Its direct ancestors are *Pelleas*, the operas of Puccini, modern French Art Songs, and such works as Ravel's *Scheherazade*. Its declamatory tradition goes back much further—to the operas of Monteverdi, perhaps even to the versicles of the Gregorian Chant. The history of music shows that declamatory writing is characteristic of the beginning of a musical revolution. It becomes predominant when taste and technique break radically with tradition, and gradually is absorbed into writing which admits greater melodic latitude; it acts as contrast to richer, more contrived music. The twentieth century began with an epidemic of declamation, which is interesting in its temporal context, but which had begun to subside twenty-five years ago. Hindemith and Milhaud were among the first of the moderns to realize the limitations of a purely declamatory style, and it is a pleasure to find that their operas, like Mozart's, are composed of numbered pieces. Britten, Menotti, and others like them, would do well to realize that they are fighting a losing, rear-guard battle for a convention as rigid as that of the aria and three times as tiresome.

NBC has scheduled a performance of Leonard Bernstein's *Trouble in Tahiti* on November 16. The series will include two pieces by Menotti and a cut version of *Der Rosenkavalier*. If they are as well-produced as *Billy Budd*, they will be a major contribution to this music season. I hope to see them all, even the ones I don't like in the theatre.

UNBUOYANT BILLIONS

by Eric Bentley

WHAT IS ACTING? If it is tossing your head, arching your back, sawing the air with your arms, sitting in grotesque positions, stamping across the stage, moving in rapid rotation from one chair to another, throwing yourself on the floor, falling off your seat, knocking people downstairs, Katharine Hepburn may be said to be acting the title role in Shaw's *Millionairess*. What is virtuosity in acting? If it is roaring instead of speaking, whining instead of whispering, if it permits the constant repetition of a single rhythmic and tonal pattern, if it embraces the abuse as well as the use of voice and gesture, Miss Hepburn is a virtuoso. What is the interpretation of a role? If it is not to discover what is in a role but to impose yourself upon it, if it is not to impose your true self upon it but a self you vamp up for the occasion, if it is not to find the accents and climaxes but to accent everything and make a climax of every speech, if it is not to establish relationships with other characters and other actors but to inhibit relationships with other characters and other actors, if it is not to seek the author's meaning but to smother all meaning in rapid activity that is too mechanical or too neurasthenic to deserve the name of energy, Miss Hepburn is a great interpreter.

If London liked the show, London cannot distinguish between vital energy and the galvanic energy of a headless hen. Nor can one think so highly of those in London who, though intelligent enough to sense that something was wrong somewhere, deduced, without examining the facts of the case, that it must be because the octogenarian author's life was ebbing and even American monkey glands could not revive him. The performance does indeed give the impression the play is uninteresting. "All this effort and the script still doesn't come to life!" say those who do not realize that all the effort has gone into killing it. The fact that Shaw so often succeeds with our public should not blind us to the fact that artistically speaking few Shaw performances are

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more than competent. But certainly mere competence is not enough though apparently it is preferable to the super-production by Michael Benthall. No one who saw the merely competent, rather down-at-heel Paris production of *The Millionairess* in 1938 left the theatre disliking the play. Competent production is only incomplete; super-production means perversion.

Now you can pervert a Shakespeare play and no one will notice since no one knew what to make of it in the first place, but in perverting Shaw you are perverting an author who has frequently been criticized for making his meaning all too clear in prefaces and stage-directions, not to mention dialogue. Well, our producers are forever proving that he is not too clear for *them*. He can explain his view that Joan's voices are real to her and to her only, but this won't stop Miss Webster broadcasting angel voices to the whole audience through the PA system. He can spend half a lifetime explaining his view of leaders and can sum it up in the preface to this very play *The Millionairess* but that won't stop Mr. Benthall and Miss Hepburn presenting their own view—or non-view—of the subject. Shaw believed in getting rid of rich and poor alike by Socialism. Economic equality would permit those few of the ex-paupers and ex-millionaires who have ruling talent to come forward and rule. Our inequality provides no legitimate outlet for them. The Millionairess is a frustrated ruler. Her frustrations are ugly, her nature is not; the cardinal error of Miss Hepburn's "interpretation" is to make Epifania absurd and repulsive to the core. True, an effort is made in the last couple of minutes of the play to reverse all that has been said and done previously. It is too late. And in Shaw's script there is no reversal; nor could Shaw ever have countenanced the means by which Miss Hepburn tries to bring one about: feverishly and erotically acting against the lines and endeavoring to subordinate a whole paragraph of Shavian eloquence to her own false emphasis on one word ("nice"). This is not the only way in which the final, summing-up speeches of the play are confused in the Benthall-Hepburn production. Shaw printed two endings; one for the capitalist West, the other for Communist countries where, in his view, the problem posed by the play has been solved. In the current production, *both* endings are drawn upon! America is capitalist but has not a voice from Wisconsin made us aware that the Communists may take over at any minute?

Sometime this play could be done right. Shaw gave us a hint in his prefatory mention of Ben Jonson. In merit *The Millionairess* is comparable neither to the best Jonson nor the best Shaw, yet in kind it is an attempt, like Pirandello's *Man, Beast, and Virtue*, to revive that Jonsonian kind of farce which is both ferocious and meaningful. As such it requires a special kind of performance. Even Cyril Ritchards—the only actor in the present production with a style—is not right for it. Mr. Ritchards plays comedy of manners. What we have here is an intellectual Punch and Judy show. Miss Hepburn fails by going all out at the Punch-and-Judy *motif* and hoping that intellect will be added unto her by divine intervention. Robert Helpmann fails by ignoring the principal tip Shaw gives to the actor playing the Egyptian Doctor, namely, not to use a stagey foreign accent; he speaks English, says Shaw, "too well to be mistaken for a native." Then there are two average, British drawing-room actors, and one, below average, who is sometimes heard to say "yahs" for "years" and "jahray" for "jury" but is in general inaudible because he tries to speak with tongue and teeth without recourse to anything below the neck.

After seeing half a dozen recent Broadway plays you might well wonder if you'll ever see anything but children and old maids on the stage any more. Though the *N Y Times* singled out the word "mature" to describe one of the latest exhibitions of immaturity, and "senile" to describe *The Millionairess*, there are theatregoers who'd be glad to turn from today's version of maturity to the brains and verve of even minor Shaw, just as they'd be glad to turn from Miss Hepburn's St. Vitus Dance to a genuine Shavian vitality.

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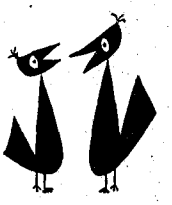

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A Survey of the Press

—including radio and TV two post-election articles coming in the NEW REPUBLIC

While awaiting the final verdict of the voters on November 4, the editors of the *New Republic* have occupied themselves with another sort of tabulation. They have been studying the role played by the press, including magazines, radio and television, in the campaign now ending.

As everybody knows, the press is overwhelmingly Republican in point of view. All major forms of mass communication in America depend for their livelihood on big business advertising. They are in many instances big business themselves. It is therefore entirely consistent for them to support the Republicans who are presumed to be on the side of business.

Under the standards and codes of journalism, the press is expected to be impartial and objective. Equal, fair and honest reporting of political news is accepted as the rule. Moreover newspapers and magazines receive government subsidy in the form of second-class mail privileges; radio and television stations are licensed by the F.C.C. Those who own the means of mass communication have the duty to serve the people as a whole.

How faithful have the press and radio been to this trust in the 1952 political campaign? Have the newspapers given equal space and equal prominence to the Democrats whom they so largely oppose editorially? Have the news columns been free of slanting and bias to either side? How have the radio commentators behaved?

These and other questions will be answered in a two-part article, "Survey of the Press," which will appear in the *New Republic's* issues for November 14 and 20.

Don't miss these important articles, which will appear in the issues reporting and analyzing the outcome of the election.

During the past ten weeks the New Republic *has added 8,000 new readers — a record growth for such a short period. Approximately 200,000 reprints have been sold. The Stevenson candidacy has refreshed, invigorated and heartened liberal hopes. If these hopes are sustained at the ballot box, a new era will have begun.*

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